EARTH FIRST!

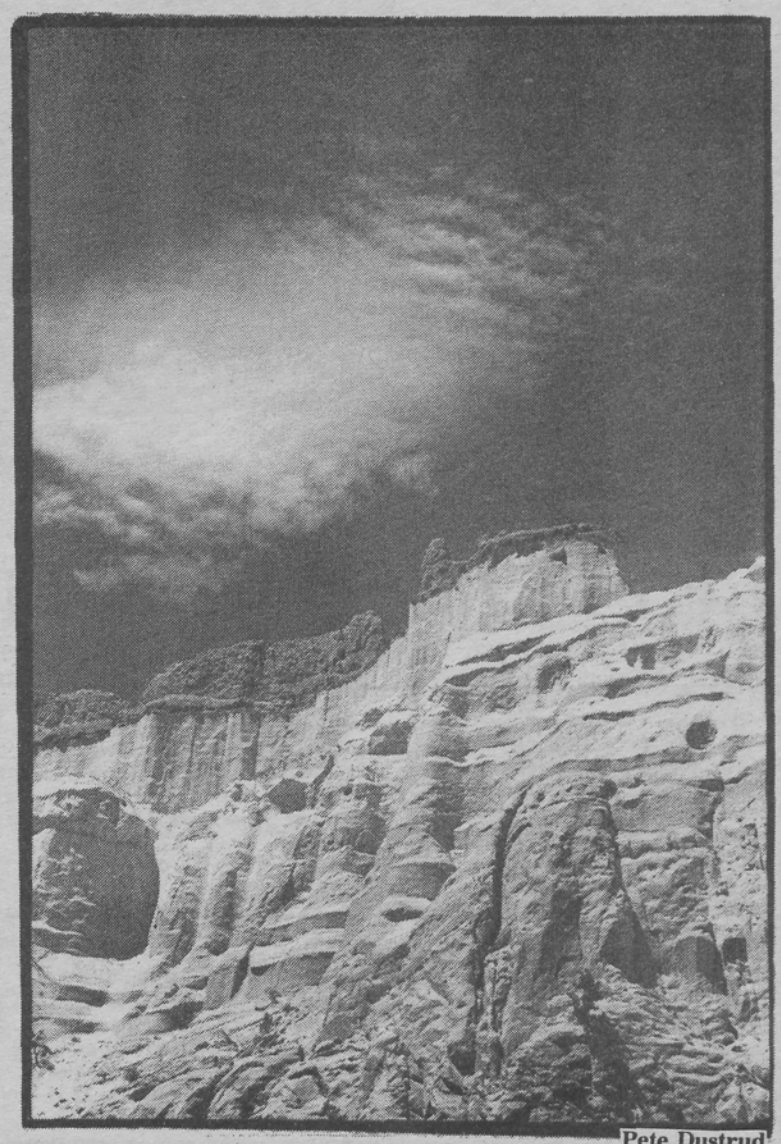
NEWSLETTER

BRIGID EDITION
February 2, 1982
Vol. 2, No. 3

"The air is precious to the red man, for all things share the same breath—the beast, the tree, the man, they all share the same breath. The white man does not seem to notice the air he breathes. Like a man dying for many days, he is numb to the stench. But if we sell you our land, you must remember that the air is precious to us, that the air shares its spirit with all the life it supports. The wind that gave our grandfather his first breath also receives his last sigh. And the wind must also give our children the spirit of life. And if we sell you our land, you must keep it apart and sacred, as a place where even the white man can go to taste the wind that is sweetened by the meadow's flowers

"Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself."

—Chief Seattle
ca. 1855



Pete Dustrud

Near Ghost Ranch, New Mexico

PUSH THEM BACK!

Our Wilderness Is Not For Lease!

It simply won't work, Mr. Watt. The strategy you and your cronies (Bob "Chop 'em" Burford, Annie "Dirty Air" Gorsuch, Ronnie "1984" Raygun, and not to mention James "Yes, Sir" Limb, your lacky recruit from BYU, and a host of other equally dispicable fools) are trying to use to overwhelm and discredit the environmental groups might work on the centralized, big-time outfits, since all you have to do is push a big pile of paper in their face. You and your fiends can dare the other groups to fight proposals to lease the Pygmy Sage WSA in Nevada, which they will probably concede to you—on paper. But just try going into the Gros Ventre or other wilderness areas.

You see, you haven't felt the effect of having a grassroots movement of determined Earth First!ers confront your stupidity. Not only are we readying to file appeals and take issues to court (especially on this trick of yours to "open" wilderness areas to leasing in the hopes that it will exhaust us), we're also ready to stand our ground when it will really count: in the field, right with Mother Earth.

Perhaps we of Earth First! have been coming off a little like a gang of eco-hoods just out to make merry, but let's get one thing perfectly straight: we do mean business. We have to keep our sense of humor or we'd surely lose our minds along with the wilderness. But this Earth, our Mother, is going to survive or we of Earth First! shall not.

Then, of course, there is the Earth First!ish sounding Burton Bill being tossed around Congress at the moment. This bill, which is being called the "Wilderness Protection Act of '82", would attempt to withdraw all forms of appropriation in wilderness areas, including areas in the National Forest System designated as wilderness, plus areas recommended for further RARE II planning, as well as parks and lands identified as WSA's by the BLM.

"I hope we shall crush in its birth, the aristocracy of our moneyed corporations which dare already to challenge our government to a trial of strength and bid defiance to the laws of our country."

—Thomas Jefferson

The Burton Bill, however, stands little chance of being passed as is. Our sources indicate that a push is on to hold the hearings on the Burton Bill by late February, but first it must endure some fierce infighting by the various pro and anti-environmental entities in DC. The Sierra Club is said not to be in support of the Burton Bill because it is too all-encompassing, too "radical"!

The outcome? If there is any continued support of the "WPA-'82" we might see, at best, the existing wilderness areas slated for leasing withdrawn, while the rest would be tossed out, ready for consumption by the energy hounds.

What can one person do? Plenty. Talk to others and organize yourselves into grassroots resistance groups. Write nasty letters to the BLM, Forest Service and Park Service people who are supposed to look after our public lands. Once you find out what attacks are being made against the wilderness places in your area, write to the newsletter so to keep other EF!ers informed. More importantly, use creative techniques of the non-violent variety to make certain the

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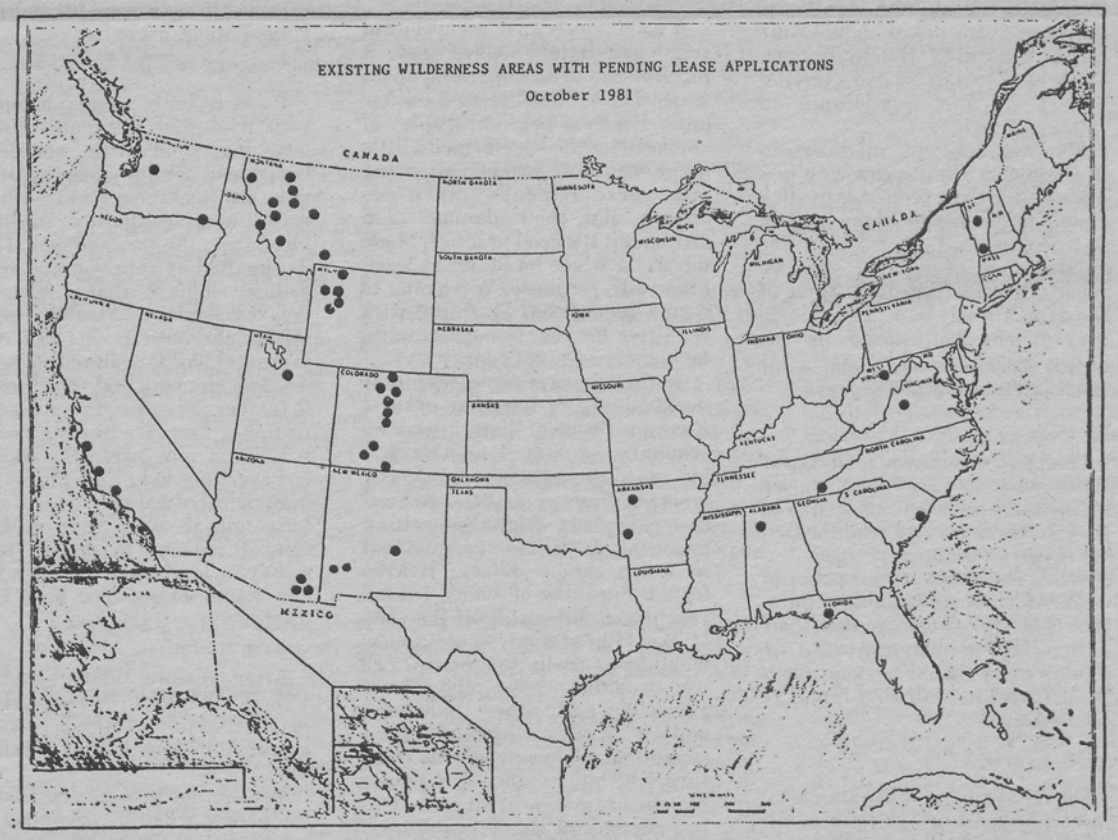

Map showing designated Wilderness areas under attack—see complete list on back cover.

EF! Contacts

Earth First! could be likened more to a "movement" rather than an "organization." The real strength must come from our grassroots chapters. But since it's our policy not to give out names from our membership list, we have been asking people in all parts of the country (and the rest of Earth) to come forward to be listed as regional "contacts." This way other folks in each area can approach their contacts and begin getting things moving.

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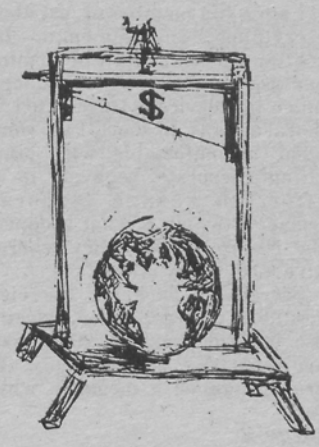

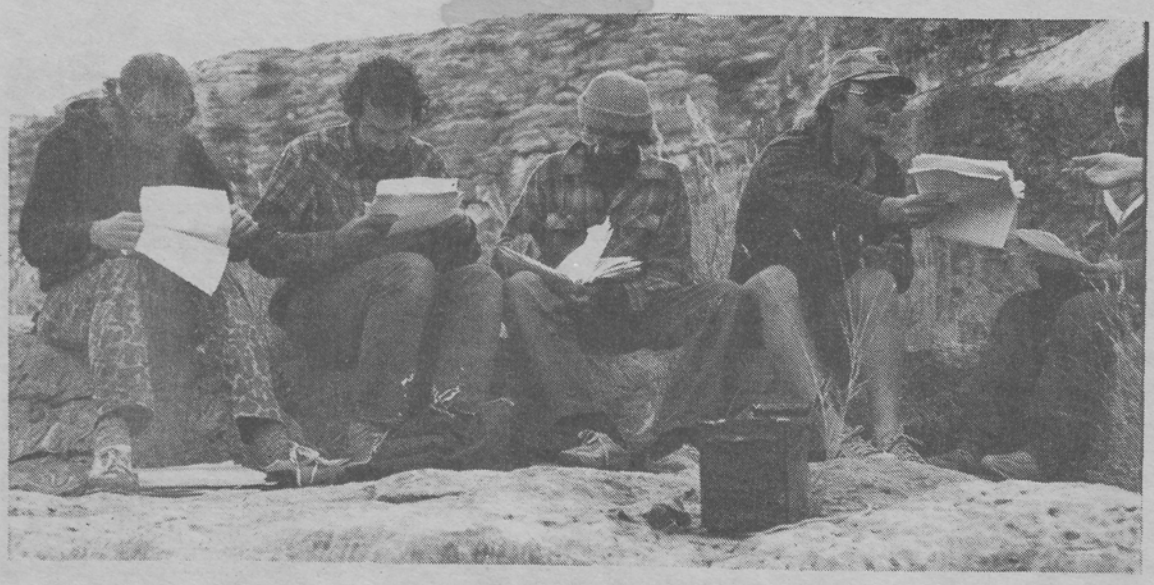

LETTERS to Earth First!

We're received an outpouring of terrific letters in response to Dave Foreman's Progressive *article (October '81), and to the various actions and words of EF!ers. The following are just a few examples of the thoughts and feelings of Earth First! members and others who are interested. Since these letters were perhaps not meant for publication, they are run here without their authors' names (our policy unless otherwise requested). Excerpts are used from some of the lengthier letters; otherwise, they are generally intact.*

Digger's *Progressive* article, *EARTH FIRST!* is Reprinted on Page 4-5

Last evening I finished reading "EARTH FIRST" by Dave Foreman in the October *Progressive*. It was marvelous, to say the least. . .I've wondered why the Sierra Club (and other national groups) were getting more and more content with half-a-loaf demands.

In the autumn of 1922, I became a Wobbly, at Seattle. . .not too many days later I was working for Roy Ford near Jefferson, in "your South Park". In the autumn, ten years before, I had heard John Muir speak., regarding Hetchy-Hetchy, and what I saw in '22 had a terrific impact on my relationship to "Mother Earth."

My decades-long membership in the Sierra Club is drawing to a close as I see the tendency to stick closely to the middle of the road on so many issues. I other words, I've belatedly realized that, yes, we must begin tearing down some of the dams already built! I've become very much disillusioned by the steady "backing up." John Muir must be spinning in his grave.

* * * *

I had just succumbed to the latest Wilderness Society fund raiser ("This man must be watched!") to the tune of $50 when I read the Oct. '81 *Progressive* article.

When I read about your policy of dam *reduction* not just dam limitation, I went out and pulled their letter off the mailbox and tore it up. I think more should be done about Watt than just watching him. I've seen enough!

* * * *

I caught your act in the article by Dave Foreman in *The Progressive* of October '81 and am interested in further knowledge.

I am a life member of just about everything environmental but continue to be in a state of terminal anguish about the outcome, since so much lip service is substituted for moral actions. In short, I am somewhat uncomfortable with simulating corporate behavior in an effort to change corporate behavior, which is what is done at the Nature Conservancy where I give most of my efforts.

Secretly I long for the clear results of discreet action, selective use of laser beams which mark one's purpose unmistakably. We are up against a megalith which has massive inertia and do not seem to fathom the nastiness of this synergistic threat, which is capable of a horror beyond that of its component parts. There is a place for vigilantes, and someone has to do it. Surely the integrity of this planet is a good thing.

Anyway, send me information and be prepared to burn this letter before the FBI subpoenas your files.

* * * *

A good friend gave me a copy of your newsletter today, and it inspired me to do something about which I've been debating for a few days. Under a brilliant display of northern lights, I performed a little maintenance on two earth-moving monsters. Hideous machines already did their damage. I'm afraid, but it's good practice. Made me feel a whole lot better at least. I'm ready for more. Was going to send a 10-spot, but I'll split it with you—five for you, five for supplies for tomorrow night's foray. . .

On the subject of James (damn-he-looks-like-Peter-Bergman-of-the-Firesign-Theatre) Watt, I think we should be thanking Ronnie Raygun for appointing such a fabulously ignorant flaming asshole. Anyone less ridiculous might be getting away with a whole lot more without so much public outcry. Heaven forbid. Speaking of which, I think your pagen shit is a bit off-the-wall. If the "Christians" would follow what Jesus really taught (LOVE) we wouldn't have the Jerry Falwell's and other bungholes getting away with all their swindling and brainwashing. Don't turn EF! into a bunch of religious zealots or maniacal druids—let's just rip the guts out of the military-industrial complex and leave it at that.

* * * *

Until yesterday, when I read about your organization in *The Progressive* magazine, I had no idea that the environmental group of my dreams actually existed. For quite some time now I have been convinced that it is time to stop playing footsie with Exxon, Dow, and the developers. It's time we started kicking posteriors.

I would appreciate an information you could send me on your organization so that I could get to know more about it. If I see that you are radical enough for me, I'll join immediately.

Until then, let us pray that Watt has nightmares about grizzly bears eating him alive.

* * * *

Hooray! It is wonderful to hear that fear has not defeated all radicalism. A compromising rationality stinks up the policy statements of most "radical" organizations nowadays. You have recognized the first step toward establishing a successful and fully conscientious organization.

* * * *

I was recently handed a copy of your wild-eyed, seditious, radical, *left-wing, anarchistic newsletter* by a friend of mine whose questionable political views have caused decent and law-abiding citizens to bleed from the ears and nose. I was so appalled by your commie-syrup radical rhetoric, that I felt compelled to send you $10 to help secure my membership. Do not feel, however, that I am letting you off easy. I ask, nay, demand that you allow me to further the cause of your organization by actual physical participation on my part. Be warned however that next time my actions may be more harsh. Please do not force me through your reckless radical policies to donate more money or encourage my friends to join Earth First!. You have been warned.

* * * *

After reading about EARTH FIRST! in *The Progressive*, I am inspired to do something I haven't as an adult done, join an organization.

You see, the process described in the article whereby organizations tend to become more and more like their opponents, more and more like Obnoxico is one strong reason. I've watched as John Shuttleworth's *Mother Earth News* becomes more and more absorbed by the establishment it sought so hard to stay out of in the beginning. I've seen the environmental movement back off again and again as it becomes establishmentalized. When an organization becomes ineffective toward that purpose to which it was originally set up, then that organization should be dissolved. I am glad to see someone come forward with the guts to organize loosely the desperately needed radical approach toward solving what may be the final problem mankind faces.

* * * *

I just finished reading your article in the October issue of *Progressive*, and I felt moved to write immediately. For several years, I have been a "good" Sierra Club member, writing outraged letters to Congress and now, circulating "Replace Watts" petitions (all the while fearing what he might be replaced *with*, too). I enjoyed the *Monkey Wrench Gang*, which I read a couple of years ago, but though it too radical.

I'm becoming more and more disillusioned with moderate environmentalism. With people like Reagan and Watt everyday threatening what wilderness we do have left, it seems that the time has come for a more radical and action-oriented approach. I'm very interested in learning about what you Earth First! people do, and in reading your newsletters and position-papers. I may not yet be ready to blow up dams, but even that time may come!

* * * *

I just finished your article in the October *Progressive* magazine. All I can say is: "All-Fucking-Right!

Everybody I know—except for a few close friends—think my ramblings about wilderness are crazy, unrealistic. Damn, it's good to know there are some more people who believe as I do. My Xerox bill this month might exceed my paychecks, but I'm gonna send your article to everybody I can think of. Hopefully, it'll touch a chord within at least one of them.

I could turn this letter into a diatribe against all the land-raping scum who seem determined to destroy everything good and beautiful and profit from the ugly and venal, but ta hell with it for now.

Enclosed is twenty dollars. . .I wish it was more. Please put me on your newsletter mailing list and keep me informed of what's goin' on.

* * * *

Finally there is an organization that appears to be as uncompromising in its environmental views as I am. I have long supported groups that are all too willing to compromise stands and have been withholding my heart and soul from the movement because of those compromises.

Now EARTH FIRST! sounds like exactly what I have been looking for. Please send info to me at the address below and to my brother at the address below. Many thanks.

* * * *

We're up in the "sticks" of North Idaho near the Canadian border and working to save some of the last endangered mammals in the Rocky Mtns.—Mountain caribou, grizzlies, Canadian lynx and cougars.

We heard about "Earth First!" from a copy of *The Progressive* article sent to us in Nashville, and applaud your spirit, ideas and approach! It is badly needed in this time of reckless abandon with our environment.

Our spare funds are all going into Mountain Caribou research but I have enclosed a small contribution to help you cover the costs of sending us your newsletter and keeping us informed. Thanks!

* * * *

I really loved the part in the *Pacific Sun* article where the big bouncer cowboy type shook Watt's hand, and then he told him he organized the protest demonstration. I'm sure he had more than egg on his face, and shit in his pants. Keep up the good work!

Seriously, I also see your point of having a vocal group that won't compromise on such matters as concern the Earth (etc!). Every compromise leads to serious consequences. It is important to have large, influential groups (Sierra Club, etc.) that go in and sit with "establishment" types to try to reason with them. But they need you and more like you to give better balance.

* * * *

I have just read the article in *Progressive* by Dave Foreman on EARTH FIRST! I did read newspaper reports last spring about the Glen Canyon events and wondered who and what the group was, since it sounded as though there would be people in it of like mind to my own.

As a former member of Sierra Club, FOE, Wilderness Society, the frustrations with these organizations which Dave Foreman described in the article struck home. I struggled with local groups of these organizations for some time to try to get them, nudge them, urge them to a more rooted (radical) analysis of the society and what was happening and thus to abandon the endless moderation and compromise which seemed to me to only blur any sharp vision of the world and its condition.

* * * *

Well, it's about time people started going beyond mere words. I've been quietly subversive on nature's side for years and have longed to unite with others who are equally motivated, frustrated and generally pissed off. There is no other cause these days that I can get into. Nothing seems worth it if the planet I live on is rapidly deteriorating and little is being done to stop it. I want to fight for wilderness. It's so hard to obtain a real wild experience these days but it is still possible if one is willing to go to the extremes. I want to keep it that way and am willing to go to whatever measure it takes. I've always been a rebel at heart. I know the cause I want to fight for and Earth First! is it. Tell me what I can do. I want to be involved at the heart of your/our battles and am willing to go anywhere and do anything to stop the destruction of this planet. Enclosed is twenty dollars in hope that Earth First! means business. Please keep me posted.

* * * *

In order to survive long as a public organization which can speak for the Earth First! Philosophy, Earth First! needs to avoid directly advocating, organizing, or carrying out eco-sabotage activities which go beyond the bounds of guerilla theater free speech. There are a number of reasons for this. First, we think that people who are moved to commit eco-sabotage need a public apologist to explain the acts as arising out of the sanity which sees the long-term effects of the megatechnic juggernaut, and acts to oppose the suicide of our species and the genocide of the rest.

Editor: Pete Dustrud

The Earth First! Newsletter is published by the members of Earth First! and for the members of Earth First! eight times each year. While other Earth First! publications shall soon become available to the general public, the EF! Newsletter shall not. Membership dues and contributions help support the cost of producing this newsletter and other Earth First! projects. Earth First! is (still) not a tax-exempt, non-profit organization; contributions are not tax-deductable. Please send all correspondence, dues, inquiries and complaints to EF!, Salt Lake City, UT 84126.

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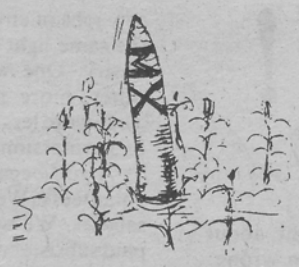
MX Still Lurking About

". . .the deeper purpose of MX is to build a first-strike weapon. The administration is not proposing a better, more secure system for second-strike retaliation, but a relatively vulnerable first-strike weapon designed to threaten the principal Soviet retaliatory forces."
—Townsend Hoopes
Former Air Force Undersecretary



As with most everything else, we're being falsely assured that the MPS (Multiple Protective Shelter), or "shell-game" scheme for the MX missile is history. A lawsuit filed by Utah State Senators Frances Farley, Karl Snow and other Utahns against the Air Force was thrown out of court. The suit charged that Weinberger, Reagan and other federal scumbuckets violated six constitutional provisions and 26 environmental statutes in allowing the Air Force to proceed with its MX program. Calling the shell-game "dead" and the issue moot, after Reagan's October 6th announcement, Judge Bruce S. Jenkins, U.S. District Court for Utah, dismissed the suit late in December after several delays. The dismissal is an outrage. Reagan's "decision" has nothing to do with the substantive issues of the suit. There will be little satisfaction in watching Jenkens eat his words after this macabre, megalithic death toy creeps back to stay.

Reagan's scheme to cram 100 MX missles into hardened Minuteman silos is merely another smokescreen for further diabolical planning. Reagan, in fact, is required to submit to Congress another *mobile*-basing scheme by October 1, 1983. Pentagon madmen and influential Congressional cohorts continue to openly push for reconsideration of deceptive basing for MX.

Meanwhile, the public is fed platitudes about retrofitting Minuteman missile silos and stuffing MX into these holes. "Jelly Brains" Reagan has ordered 100 missiles manufactured. He plans to pack at least 40 into existing silos which will be superhardened against enemy attack (but no one yet knows how. . .) and protect the sites with an illegal system of Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABMs) designed to shoot down incoming rockets (but no one yet knows how. . .)

The only Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty signed by both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is S.A.L.T. I (1972). The primary accomplishment of this treaty has been to ban ABMs! To install an MX/ABM system, the Pentagon will have to abbrogate the only existing nuclear arms treaty. . .and there is every indication that the Pentagon plans to do just that! They are attempting to bury the plan's illegality (and immorality) with beefed-up, recycled, rhetorical nonsense about the "Red threat" and "national security."

One of the Air Farce's bases (in either Montana, Wyoming, Missouri, North or South Dakota) is slated to become the new MX National Park: A military boondoggle designed to stuff the coffers of the military-industrial machine. How about the Black Holes of the Dakotas, NP? Instead of converting the great basin into a nuke wastetrak, an equally absurd ABM system is now planned. Minuteman states beware!

Boeing and certain other warmonger corporations lost out on big bucks when the MX shell-game was "scrapped." Watch and see now if these companies don't get the ABM contracts!

Utah and Nevada wake up! The MX beast is not dead, it is not even comatose. It is being retrofitted with radioactive bionic arms in an abandoned sewer underneath the Pentagon. Who knows what is being conjured up. But whatever the Pentagon is telling us now is, of course, bunk. ○

—B.A. Badger

RRR

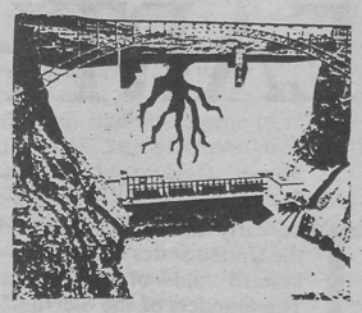
Last summer, on the Fourth of July, over 200 Earth First!ers and other eco-radicals gathered near Moab, Utah, for the annual Round River Rendezvous. Earth First! is planning another meet this summer on the Fourth of July, probably near Jackson, Wyoming, but possibly somewhere else. Those of you who might be interested in joining up with this get-together be sure to look for details in the Spring Equinox (Eostar Ritual) issue of this newsletter. ○

"Be ashamed to die before you have won some victory for humanity."

—Horace Mann

"Be ashamed to die before you have won some victory for Earth."

— EARTH FIRST!



OH, DAMN!

By the time all you fans out there in movieland read this, EF! will have in it's hot little hands an inspiring and professionally done 16mm color movie of our Spring Equinox Cracking of Glen Canyon Damn. The background music is by Johnny Sagebrush and Ed Abbey offers some wonderfully spirited comments. A showing of the Glen Canyon Damn flick ought to be a great organizing program for local EF! (or other groups') meetings. This movie is a hell of a tool and we should use it to the maximum extent possible. It also cost us a bunch of bucks and donations specificaly to help cover the cost would be most appreciated (Good ol' Ralph Monroe paid for the thing but we need to pay him back). If you would like to show the movie, contact Peter. ○

Conspiracy to commit either misdemeanors or felonies is a felony; an organization which hopes to pursue such eco-sabotage must be completely underground and be organized in disassociated cells. Such an organization is suicidal if it holds public meetings and issues press statements through recognizable spokesmen.

However, the civil rights and anti-war movements have established the precedent that free speech may lead to technical violations of law (e.g., trespassing, assembling without a permit, et al), and persecutions of groups which officially confine themselves to proselytizing are limited in vigor and effect. Such limits also immunize against agent provacateurs and informers. We would like to see an organization which can effectively explain the motives behind eco-sabotage and sympathize with the saboteurs without crossing the legal line into advocating and thus becoming legally vulnerable to responsibility for the acts.

* * * *

I want to join EARTH FIRST! Just read Mr. Foreman's article in the *Progressive*.

I am a member of Sierra Club and FOE, but am not satisfied with their timid approach to "environmentalism."

I'm not much of an organizer, but if there is anything I could do for you down here in Kerr-McGee Land just let me know.

* * * *

Fantastic! It's about time people realized that to settle for less *is* to settle for less. Earth First! Earth Forever! Please send me any and all information regarding Earth First! Long live the monkey wrench!

* * * *

I have just read your article in the October issue of the *Progressive*. Please rush me information on EARTH FIRST! I need it. Many are the environmental groups I've joined—but they don't do enough. I'm damn tired of settling for the gains we get, when we are right all along and deserve to win! I'm for you. I want to join. Let's fight the bastards tooth and nail.

* * * *

A truly radical—to the roots—presence is badly needed in the environmental area and Earth First shows real promise in that direction. And that radical vision must cut through to the reality of the political/economic system that we live in such that we clearly understand who has power, who owns what, who acts for whom.

Case in point: James Watt—ideal target and organizing tool that he is, we must not lose sight of the fact that his actions in oil shale, BLM, national parks or any other area are not on behalf of James Watt himself, but for the corporate/business/profits first, last and always groups and people for which he is but the errand boy, boot licker, and point man. He acts for and represents the less than 10% of the population who own and control 60-70% of the wealth, the giant corporations whose wealth and power exceed that of most of the nations on the earth today, and from whose directors, lobbyists, and purchased politicians James Watt gets his marching orders.

So the real battle is not with James Watt—he is well paid to take the flak and divert energy into a seeming "personality" conflict—but with the masters of the puppet, who prefer to stay out of sight as much as possible, pulling the strings and writing the scripts.

Remember, many of these crazy, destructive, disastrous—but highly profitable—schemes such as MX, synfuels/oil shale, nuclear power, clear cutting, etc. etc. were conceived, developed, funded, or implemented by previous Democublican administrations. James Watt and Ronnie Reagan are just the latest, blunter, more abrasive, less liberal/sneaky front men for the programs which the ruling/owning corporate/political powers have been developing for some time.

So let's not waste all our effort on James Watt—wonderful target that he is, without tearing aside the curtains to reveal the real puppeteers.

* * * *

Thanks for your article in the *Progressive*. Seldom does one find a critical and self-critical article that challenges the status quo of our movements, many of which become self-serving rather than accomplishing the goals. I agree that there has been too much emphasis on lobbying and building comfortable careers and lifestyles instead of saving our environment and using more people-oriented grassroots direct action tactics.

I would like to get involved in a group that takes the environment more seriously than their own careers.

* * * *

I read the article on Earth First! in *Progressive* and it prompted me to respond.

I appreciate you people maintaining an uncompromising concern for conservation. I have a tendency to feel so overwhelmed and outnumbered by big business and government, that I retreat and despair very passively over the misuse of the environment. But your group has energized me and given me hope—I thank you.

* * * *

I have just read your article in the October 1981 issue of the *Progressive* magazine and agree with much of what you wrote. I share your love of the earth and your radical program for its preservation. Like many other pro-environmentalists I am not only determined, but frustrated. I am especially frustrated in the almost-aftermath of the blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant up in San Luis Obispo, which many supporters either were too afraid to join or were unable to join. The media and many observers treated it as a "circus" and therefore as a joke. Could EARTH FIRST! hold a better media stunt than that? Maybe EARTH FIRST! *can* help change people's attitude toward conservation and make a difference. Please send me information about becoming a member. I'm ready to act.

* * * *

I am writing in response to your article in the October issue of the *Progressive*—it was great! Although I am sympathetic and supportive of all pro-Earth groups, I am totally in agreement with you and your groups' stance—every person on the planet should know and understand that the Earth is precious, not to be played with, and the caretaker of us all. Your group is the voice the Earth does not have.

* * * *

I read your article, "Earth First!" in the October '81 issue of the *Progressive* magazine. Very inspiring!

Just last spring I was asking myself and the people around me, "Whatever happened to the ecology movement, Earth Days, and the Green Ecology flag. Where did the words "ecotage" and "ecotactics" go and where's my copy of *The Monkey Wrench Gang?*" EARTH FIRST! sounds like an answer. Send me some more info.

* * * *

Your slogan, "Building chaos out of Anarchy for a better tomorrow", is ass-backwards. Chaos is merely disorder. Anarchism is a system of social thought, aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society and particularly at the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals. Your slogan should read: "Building Anarchy out of chaos for a better tomorrow."

* * * *

I just read about Earth First! in the October issue of *Progressive*. Thank the gods there is still some *genuine* morality left in this land of "moral" frauds and blackmailers. Please tell me how I can contact Earth First!ers in New England.

* * * *

I want to know more. Send me what you can about Earth First! I will gladly contribute to EF!

One thought I had is to support the space program to get industries off earth and into space where it belongs.

* * * *

I don't know who the hell put me on your mailing list (well, I have my suspicions) but keep it coming. I showed it to people I work with at the EPA and they promised to not call me a radical anymore after reading it. Some of us do our bit in quiet (sneaky) ways, but I was inspired to do some spray painting over the weekend! Thanks for reminding me there are still folks who care and therefore hope for this demented society.

* * * *

I have just read your article *EarthFirst!*, and found it absolutely thrilling. Please put me down as a member; I shall do what little I can to spread the word. You give me hope in these grim days. Maybe I'll even live to see the tide begin to turn.

* * * *

All I can say is that it's about time the compromises were put in their place (alongside all the other environmental problems). ○

By all means, please continue writing to EF! newsletter, but if you possess a typewriter, use it. Manuscripts sent to us in the form of bark etchings and stone tablets must first be translated. If it's at all possible, be brief, clear and direct.

But neatness aside, the letters are great, and the E.F!er wishes to thank all of you who have sent your words to E.F!

EARTH FIRST!

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BY DAVE FOREMAN

The early conservation movement in the United States was a child—and no bastard child—of the Establishment. The founders of the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, the Wilderness Society, and the wildlife conservation groups were, as a rule, wealthy pillars of American society. They were an elite band—sportsmen of the Teddy Roosevelt variety, naturalists like John Burroughs, outdoorsmen in the mold of John Muir, pioneer foresters and ecologists on the order of Aldo Leopold, and wealthy social visionaries like Robert Marshall. No anarchistic Luddites these.

When such groups as the Sierra Club grew into the politically effective force that blocked Echo Park Dam in 1956 and got the Wilderness Act passed in 1964, their members were likely to be physicians, mathematicians, and nuclear physicists. To be sure, in the 1950s and 1960s a few oddball refugees from the American mainstream joined the conservation outfits. But it was not until Earth Day in 1970 that the environmental movement received its first influx of real anti-establishment radicals as anti-war protesters found a new cause—the environment. Suddenly, in environmental meetings beards appeared alongside crewcuts—and the rhetoric quickened.

The militancy was short-lived. Along with dozens of other products of the 1960s who went to work for conservation groups in the early 1970s, I discovered that a suit and tie gained access to regional foresters and members of Congress. We learned to moderate our opinions along with our dress. We heard that extremists were ignored in the councils of government, that the way to get a Senator to put his arm around your shoulders and drop a wilderness bill in the hopper was to consider the conflicts—mining, timber, grazing—and pare back the offending acreage. Of course we were good patriotic Americans. Of course we were concerned with the production of red meat, timber, and minerals. We tried to demonstrate that preserving wilderness did not conflict all that much with the gross national product and that clean air actually helped the economy. We argued that we could have our booming industry and still sink oil wells in pristine areas.

Our moderate stance appeared to pay off when the first avowed conservationist since Teddy Roosevelt took the helm at the White House in 1977. Suddenly our colleagues—self-professed conservationists—occupied important and decisive positions in the Carter Administration. Editorials proclaimed that environmentalism had been enshrined in the Establishment, that conservation was here to stay. A new environmental ethic was at hand: Environmental Quality and Continued Economic Progress.

But although we had access—indeed, influence—in high places, something seemed amiss. When the chips were down, conservation still lost out to industry. But these were our *friends* turning us down. We tried to understand the problems they faced in the real political world. We gave them the benefit of the doubt. We failed to sue when we should have. . . .

I wondered about all this on a gray day in January 1979, as I sat in my private office in the headquarters of the Wilderness Society, only three blocks from the White House in Washington, D.C. I had just returned from a news conference at the South Agriculture Building, where the Forest Service had announced a disappointing decision on RARE II—the second Roadless Area Review and Evaluation (a twenty-month exercise by the Forest Service to determine which National Forest lands should be protected in their natural condition).

As I loosened my tie, propped my cowboy boots up on my desk, and popped the top to another Stroh's, I thought about RARE II and why it had gone so wrong. Jimmy Carter, supposedly a great friend of wilderness, was President. Dr. M. Rupert Cutler, a former assistant executive director of the Wilderness Society, was assistant secretary of agriculture over the Forest Service and had conceived the RARE II program. But we had lost to the timber, mining, and cattle interests on every point. Of sixty million acres still roadless and undeveloped in the 220 million acres of National Forests, the Department of Agriculture was recommending only fifteen million for wilderness protection from road building and timber cutting.

Moreover, damn it, we—the conservationists—had been moderate. The anti-environmental side had been extreme, radical, emotional. Their arguments had been easily shot full of holes. We had been factual, rational. We had provided more—and better—serious public comment. But we had lost. And now we were worried that some local wilderness group might go off the reservation and sue the Forest Service over the clearly inadequate environmental impact statement for RARE II. We didn't want a suit—because we knew we could win and were afraid of the political consequences of such a victory. We might make some powerful Senators and Representatives angry. So those of us in Washington were plotting on how to keep the grass roots in line. But, vaguely, something seemed wrong to me.

After RARE II, I left my position as issues coordinator for the Wilderness Society in Washington to return to New Mexico and my old job as the Society's Southwest representative. I was particularly concerned with the overgrazing on the 180 million acres of public lands in the West managed by the Department of Interior's Bureau of Land Management (BLM). For years, these lands—rich in wildlife, scenic, recreational, and wilderness values—had been the private preserve of stockgrowers in the West. BLM had done little to manage national lands or to control the serious overgrazing that was sending millions of tons of topsoil down the Colorado, Rio Grande, and other rivers; wiping out wildlife habitat, and generally beating the land to hell.

Prodded by a Natural Resources Defense Council suit, BLM began to try to get a handle on the overgrazing problem through a series of environmental impact statements. These confirmed that most BLM lands were seriously overgrazed and recommended cuts in animal numbers. But after the expected outcry from the few thousand ranchers leasing BLM land and their political cronies in Congress and state capitals, BLM backtracked so quickly that a fair number of knees must have been dislocated. Why were BLM and the Department of Interior so gutless?

While that question gnawed at my innards, I was growing increasingly disturbed about the trends in the conservation organizations themselves. When I had originally gone to work for the Wilderness Society in 1973, the way to get a job with a conservation group was to prove yourself first as a volunteer. It helped to have the right academic background, but experience as a capable grass-roots conservation activist was more important.

We realized that we would not receive the salary we could earn in government or private industry but we didn't expect it. We were working for nonprofit groups funded by the contributions of concerned people. Give us enough to keep food on the table, pay rent, buy a six-pack—we didn't want to get rich. But a change occurred after the mid-1970s. Now young people seeking to work for conservation groups were career-oriented, they had relevant degrees (science, law—not history or English), they saw jobs in environmental organizations in the same light as jobs in government or industry. One was a stepping stone to another, more powerful position later on. They were less part of a cause and more part of a profession.

A gulf began to grow between staff and volunteers. We also began to squabble over salaries. We were no longer content to be paid subsistence, and the figures in our salaries chalked up our status in the movement. Perrier and brie replaced Bud and beans.

Within the Wilderness Society, Celia Hunter, prominent Alaskan conservationist and outfitter, World War II pilot, and feminist, had been executive director while I was in Washington. Celia instituted staff discussions, democratic decision-making, more equitable salaries, and emphasis on results instead of flash. But the governing council of the Society, controlled by retired Federal bureaucrats, was not sympathetic; the council preferred a hierarchy dominated by a strong male figure (there was a definite undercurrent of sexism in the struggle).

The council found this strong male figure in Bill Turnage, an eager young businessman who had made his mark by marketing Ansel Adams. Turnage took over as executive director late in 1978, and within two years he had replaced virtually all those on the staff under Celia with professional organization people. The clique running things on the governing council also moved to bring millionaires with a vague environmental interest onto the council. We were, it seemed to some of us, becoming indistinguishable from those we were ostensibly fighting.

I resigned my position in June 1980.

But what of the rest of the movement? Were there any radicals anywhere? Anyone to take the hard stands? Sadly, no. The national groups—Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, Audubon Society, Wilderness Society, and the rest—took almost identical middle-of-the-road positions on most issues. And then those half-a-loaf demands were readily compromised further. The top conservation staffs of these groups fretted about keeping local conservationists (and some of their field staffs) in line, keeping them from becoming extreme or unreasonable, keeping them from blowing moderate national strategy on a variety of issues.

For years I was a strong advocate of this approach. We could, I believed, gain more wilderness by a moderate tack, we would stir up less opposition by keeping a low profile. We could inculcate conservation in the Establishment by using rational, economic arguments. The last thing we needed was somebody running amok. We needed to present a solid front. We all had to be on the same bandwagon. Even Friends of the Earth, which had started out to be the radical among us back in the heady Earth Day era, had gravitated to the center and, as a rule, was a comfortable member of the informal coalition of environmental organizations.

A major crack in my personal moderation appeared early in 1979, when I returned from Washington to the small ranching community of Glenwood, New Mexico. I had lived there earlier for six years and, although a known conservationist, was fairly well accepted. Shortly after my return, *The New York Times* published an article on RARE II, with the Gila National Forest around Glenwood as chief exhibit. To my amazement, the article included a quote from a rancher, whom I considered to be a friend, threatening *my* life because of wilderness lockups! A couple of days later I was accosted on the street by four men, one of whom ran the town cafe at which I had eaten many a fried steak. They threatened my life because of RARE II.

I was not afraid, but I was irritated—and surprised. I had been a leading moderate among New Mexico conservationists. I had successfully convinced them to propose fewer RARE II areas on the Gila National Forest as wilderness. What had backfired? I thought again about the different approaches to RARE II: the moderate, subdued one advanced by the major conservation groups; the howling, impassioned, extreme stand set forth by off-road-vehicle zealots, many ranchers, local boosters, loggers, and miners. They looked like fools. We looked like statesmen. Who won? They did.

The last straw fell last Fourth of July in Moab, Utah. There the local county commission sent a flag-flying bulldozer into an area the Bureau of Land Management had identified as a possible study area for wilderness review. The bulldozer incursion was to be an opening salvo for the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion, a move by chambers of commerce, ranchers, and right-wing fanatics in the West to claim all Federal public lands for the states and eventual transfer to private hands. The Rebellion was clearly an extremist effort, lacking the support of even many conservative members of Congress in the West. But BLM was afraid to stop the county commission.

"What have we really accomplished?" I thought. "Are we any better off as far as saving the Earth now than we were ten years ago?" I ticked off the real problems: world population growth, destruction of tropical forests, expanding slaughter of African wildlife, oil pollution of the ocean, acid rain, carbon dioxide buildup in the atmosphere, spreading deserts on every continent, destruction of native peoples and the imposition of one world culture (European), plans to carve up Antarctica, deep seabed mining, nuclear proliferation, recombinant DNA research, toxic wastes. . . . It was staggering. And I feared we had done nothing to reverse the tide. Indeed, it had accelerated.

And then: Ronald Reagan. James "Rape'n'Ruin" Watt is Secretary of the Interior. The Forest Service is Louisiana-Pacific's. Interior is Exxon's. The Environmental Protection Agency is Dow's. Already, the Reagan Administration and the Republican Senate talk of gutting the gutless Alaska Lands Bill. The Clean Air Act, up for renewal, faces a Government more interested in corporate black ink than human lungs. The lands of the Bureau of Land Management appear to our Interior Department obscenely naked without the garb of oil wells. Meanwhile, the Agriculture Department will direct the Forest Service in ridding the National Forests of those disgustingly decadent and diseased old-growth trees. The cowboys have the grazing lands and God help the hiker, coyote, or blade of grass that gets in their way.

Maybe—some of us began to feel, even before Reagan's election—it was time for a new joker in the deck: a militant, uncompromising group unafraid to say what needed to be said or to back it up with stronger actions than the established organizations were willing to take. This idea had been kicking around for a couple of years; finally last year several of us (including, among others, Susan Morgan, formerly educational director for the Wilderness Society; Howie Wolke, former Wyoming representative for Friends of the Earth; Bart Koehler, former Wyoming representative for the Wilderness Society, and myself) decided that the time for talk was past. We formed a new national group, EARTH FIRST! We set out to be radical in style, positions, philosophy, and organization in order to be effective and to avoid the pitfalls of co-option and moderation which we had already experienced.

What, we asked ourselves as we sat around a campfire in the Wyoming mountains, were the advantages, the reasons for environmental radicalism?

¶ To state honestly the views held by many conservationists.

¶ To demonstrate that the Sierra Club and its allies were raging moderates, believers in the system, and to refute the Reagan/Watt contention that they were "extremist environmentalists."

¶ To balance such anti-environmental radicals as the Grand County commission and provide a broader spectrum of viewpoints.

¶ To return some vigor, joy, and enthusi-

asm to the allegedly tired environmental movement.

¶ To keep the established groups honest. By stating a pure, non-compromise pro-Earth position, we felt EARTH FIRST! could help keep the other groups from straying too far from their philosophical base.

¶ To give an outlet to many hard-line conservationists who were no longer active because of disenchantment with compromise politics and the co-option of environmental organizations.

¶ To provide a productive fringe since it seems that ideas, creativity, and energy spring up on the fringe and later spread into the middle.

¶ To inspire others to carry out activities straight from the pages of *The Monkey Wrench Gang* even though EARTH FIRST!, we agreed, would itself be ostensibly law-abiding.

¶ To question the system; to help develop a new world view, a biocentric paradigm, an Earth philosophy. To fight, with uncompromising passion, for Mother Earth.

The name—EARTH FIRST!—was chosen deliberately because it succinctly summed up the one thing on which we could all agree: That in *any* decision, consideration for the health of the Earth must come first, or, as Aldo Leopold said, "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

In a true Earth-radical group, concern for wilderness preservation must be the keystone. The idea of wilderness, after all, is the most radical in human thought—more radical than Paine, than Marx, than Mao. Wilderness says: Human beings are not dominant, Earth is not for *Homo sapiens* alone, human life is but one life form on the planet and has no right to take exclusive possession. Yes, wilderness for its own sake, without any need to justify it for human benefit. Wilderness for wilderness. For grizzlies and whales and titmice and rattlesnakes and stink bugs. And . . . wilderness for human beings. Because it is the laboratory of three million years of human evolution—and because it is home.

It is not enough to protect our few remaining bits of wilderness. The only hope for Earth (and humanity for that matter) is to withdraw huge areas as inviolate natural sanctuaries from the depredations of modern industry and technology. Keep Cleveland, Los Angeles. Contain them. Try to make them habitable. But identify areas—big areas—that can be restored to a semblance of natural conditions, reintroduce the griz and wolf and prairie grasses, and declare them off limits to modern civilization.

In the United States pick an area for each of our major ecosystems and recreate the American wilderness—not in little pieces of a thousand acres but in chunks of a million or ten million. Move out the people and cars. Reclaim the roads and plowed land. It is not enough any longer to say no more dams on our wild rivers. We must begin tearing down some dams already built—beginning with Glen Canyon, Hetch Hetchy, Tellico, and New Melones—and freeing shackled rivers.

This emphasis on wilderness is not to ignore other enviromental issues or to abandon the people who suffer because of them. In the United States blacks and Chicanos of the inner cities are the ones most affected by air and water pollution, the ones most trapped by the unnatural confines of urbanity. So we decided that not only should eco-militants be concerned with these human environmental problems; we should also make common ground with other progressive elements of society whenever possible.

Obviously, for a group more committed to Gila monsters and mountain lions than to people, there will not be a total alliance with the other social movements. But there are issues where Earth radicals can cooperate with feminist, Indian rights, anti-nuke, peace, civil rights, and civil liberties groups. The inherent conservatism of the conservation community has made it wary of snuggling too close to these questionable (in their minds) leftist organizations. We hoped that the way might be paved for better cooperation from the entire conservation movement.

DAVID JOHNSON

We believed that new tactics were needed—something more than commenting on dreary environmental impact statements and writing letters to members of Congress. Politics in the streets. Civil disobedience. Media stunts. Holding the villains up to ridicule. Using music to charge the cause.

Action is the key. Action is more important than philosophical hair-splitting or endless refining of dogma (for which radicals are so well known). Let our actions set the finer points of our philosophy. And let us recognize that diversity is not only the spice of life, it is also the strength. All that would be required to join us, we decided, was a belief in Earth first. Apart from that, EARTH FIRST! would be big enough to contain street poets and cowboy bar bouncers, agnostics and pagans, vegetarians and raw steak eaters, pacifists and those who think that turning the other cheek is a good way to get a sore face.

Radicals frequently verge toward a righteous seriousness. But we felt that if we couldn't laugh at ourselves we would be merely another bunch of dangerous fanatics who should be locked up (like the oil companies). Not only does humor preserve individual and group sanity, it retards hubris, a major cause of environmental rape, and it is also an effective weapon. Additionally, fire, passion, courage, and emotionalism are called for. We have been too reasonable, too calm, too understanding. It's time to get angry, to cry, to let rage flow at what the human cancer is doing to Mother Earth, to be uncompromising. For EARTH FIRST! it is all or nothing. Win or lose. No truce or cease fire. No surrender. No partitioning of the territory.

Ever since the Earth goddesses of ancient Greece were supplanted by the macho Olympians, repression of women and Earth has gone hand in hand with imperial organization. EARTH FIRST! decided to be non-organizational: no officers, no bylaws or constitution, no incorporation, no tax status; just a collection of women and men committed to the Earth. At the turn of the century William Graham Sumner wrote a famous essay entitled "The Conquest of the United States by Spain." His thesis was that Spain had ultimately won the Spanish-American War because the United States took on the imperialism and totalitarianism of Spain as a result. We felt that if we took on the organization of the industrial state, we would soon accept their anthropocentric paradigm (much as Audubon and the Sierra Club already had).

In keeping with that view, EARTH FIRST! took the shape of a circle, a group of thirteen women and men around the country who more or less direct the movement, and a collection of regional contacts. We also have local affiliates (so far in Alaska, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Arkansas, Maine, and Virginia). We publish a newsletter eight times a year and are developing position papers on a range of issues from automobiles to overgrazing. We also send out press releases. Membership is free, although we do encourage members to kick in ten bucks or more, if they can afford it, to help with expenses. We have not sought any grants or funding with strings attached, nor do we plan to have paid staff (although we hope to have field organizers receiving expenses in the tradition of the Wobblies).

And, when we are inspired, we *act*.

Massive, powerful, like some creation of Darth Vader's, Glen Canyon Dam squats in the canyon of the Colorado River on the Arizona-Utah border and backs the cold dead waters of Lake Powell some 180 miles upstream, drowning the most awesome and magical canyon on Earth. More than any other single entity, Glen Canyon Dam is the symbol of the destruction of wilderness, of the technological rape of the West. The finest fantasy of eco-warriors in the West is the destruction of the dam and the liberation of the Colorado. So it was only proper that on March 21, 1981—on the Spring Equinox, the traditional time of rebirth—EARTH FIRST! held its first national gathering at Glen Canyon Dam.

On that morning, seventy-five members of EARTH FIRST! lined the walkway of the Colorado River Bridge 700 feet above the once free river and watched five compatriots busy at work with an awkward black bundle on the massive dam just upstream. Those on the bridge carried placards reading "Damn Watt, Not Rivers," "Free the Colorado," and "Let It Flow." The four men and one woman on the dam attached ropes to a grill on the dam, shouted out "Earth first!" and let 300 feet of black plastic unfurl down the side of the dam, creating the impression of a growing crack. Those on the bridge returned the cheer.

A few minutes later, Edward Abbey, author of *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, a novel of environmental sabotage in the Southwest, told the protesters of the "green and living wilderness" that was Glen Canyon only nineteen years ago:

"And they took it away from us. The politicians of Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, and Colorado, in cahoots with the land developers, city developers, industrial developers of the Southwest, stole this treasure from us in order to pursue and promote their crackpot ideology of growth, profit, and power—growth for the sake of power, power for the sake of growth."

Speaking toward the future, Abbey offered this advice: "Oppose. Oppose the destruction of our homeland by these alien forces from Houston, Tokyo, Manhattan, Washington, D.C., and the Pentagon. And if opposition is not enough, we must resist. And if resistance is not enough, then subvert."

Abbey than launched a nationwide petition campaign demanding the dismantling of Glen Canyon Dam. Hardly had he finished speaking when Park Service police and Coconino County sheriff's deputies arrived on the scene. While they questioned the organizers of the illegal assembly and tried to disperse it, outlaw country singer Johnny Sagebrush led the demonstrators in song for another twenty minutes.

The Glen Canyon Dam caper brought EARTH FIRST! an unexpected degree of media attention. Membership in our group has spiraled to more than a thousand with members from Maine to Hawaii. Even the Government is interested—according to reliable reports, the FBI dusted the entire Glen Canyon Dam crack for fingerprints!

Last Fourth of July more than 200 EARTH FIRST!ers gathered in Moab, Utah, for the first Sagebrush Patriot Rally to express support for Federal public lands and to send a message to anti-Earth fanatics that there are Americans who are patriotic about *their* wilderness.

When a few of us kicked off EARTH FIRST! we sensed a growing environmental radicalism in the country but we did not expect the response we have received. Maybe EARTH FIRST! is in the right place at the right time. Tom Turner, editor of Friends of the Earth's *Not Man Apart*, recently wrote to us to say:

"Russ Train once said, 'Thank God for Dave Brower—he makes it so easy for the rest of us to appear reasonable.' Youze guys are about to make Dave Brower look reasonable, and more power to you!"

The cynical may smirk. "But what can you really accomplish? How can you fight Exxon, Coors, David Rockefeller, Japan, and the other great corporate giants of the Earth? How, indeed, can you fight the dominant dogmas of Western Civilization?"

Perhaps it *is* a hopeless quest. But is that relevant? Is that important? No, what is important is that one who loves Earth can do no less. Maybe a species will be saved or a forest will go uncut or a dam will be torn down. Maybe not. A monkey wrench thrown into the gears of the machine may not stop it. But it might delay it. Make it cost more. And it feels good to put it there. ■

EARTH FIRST! ECO-TACTICS Column

The following column on "eco-tactics" is a regular collection of real or imagined reports and ideas concerning actions which have or could have been taken in defense of the Earth. This column is not intended to serve as an advocate for any of the "eco-tactics" printed herein. Earth First! as an organization does not support or condone illegal or violent activities. What an individual does autonomously is his or her own business.

This newsletter, however, is the voice of the people who support it. We believe in the free exchange of information and ideas. If a person carries out a passionate act in defense of Mother Earth, it isn't because he or she read about it here. We are free individuals, not sheep.

A Cure for Those ORV Blues

Sick and tired of those knobby tire tracks defiling your favorite wilderness? A sure cure for those ORV blues can be engineered with a sledghammer and assorted lengths of rebar, lead pipe, and steel fence posts. (Dam construction sites provide a ready source of such material.) Merely drive the steel objects several feet into the ground at well concealed spots along ORV access routes, leaving just enough exposed to pass under the bumper of a jacked-up 4x4. The next motor-crazed fool acting out the latest Jeep commercial by splashing through streams and across desert shrubs will find oil pan and undercarriage violated by your cunningly-laid snare.

All Right!
It's time to go for the jugular.
Coors gave us Watt, right?
Now let's give Coors the finger.
A nationwide
Save-The-Environment-By
Boycotting-Coors Campaign
Let's start with bumperstickers
and posters.

"Love the Wilderness?
Boycott Coors"

"Love the Environment?
Boycott Coors"

Coors gave us Watt
And Watt Gave Us Dirty Air,
Fouled Water. . ."

It can start with you. Each time you see a friend (or enemy) drinking Coors, remind them that Coors gave us James 'Rape and Run' Watt, Annie 'Dirty Air" Gorsuch, and Bob 'Dig 'em up and Chop 'em down' Burford.

We can do it. An article in the July *Denver* magazine reveals that Coors is in a shaky position. A nationwide boycott could do 'em in!

BOYCOTT COORS AND SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT! Besides, it's no loss to real beer drinkers. The stuff is terrible, probably the worst beer being made in the country. And remember, Coors' neighbor to the north is Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. Like a little plutonium in your brew? GO FOR THE GUSTO!

—From Gandolf of Golden

I am writing to amplify on the ecotactic of spiking which was discussed in the Yule edition of the newsletter.

Spiking consists of driving nails in standing trees to combat efforts to log a forest and saw lumber from its trees.

As a reluctant, but temporary, forest industry employee (logger), I am convinced the tactic could be used successfully to prevent logging of choice tracts that should be preserved.

The secret would be to randomly drive several nails or spikes in each tree selected, including several at angles near the level where they are likely to be pierced by the chainsaws.

If a thorough job were done and perhaps an anonymous public announcement made, bidding on some tracts might be discouraged and the forests thus preserved. Even if bidding proceeded, actual logging operations might be short-lived.

Quietly spiking some stands several years in advance of potential cutting is a method that might also do the job and give the eco-saboteur more protection against being apprehended.

Large headless or finishing nails driven where a chainsaw is certain to cut will create great havoc and much cussing. Home cut pieces of small diameter rebar might do the same job while offering lower cost and longer lengths.

I've frequently considered the tactic and am glad to hear it is in use elsewhere.

My name is being withheld for obvious reasons, but I hope you'll print this message.

Resist, my friends, resist.

Leafletting: Yes, actually getting out there and mingling and putting one's ego, and possibly teeth and nose, on the line. When some worthy issue comes along, print up pamphlets and give them out and engage people in active discussion. This has been one of the prime tactics of radicals ever since the invention of the printing press.

Guerilla Mail: It has been rumoured that some ecologists mailed copies of the book *Tofu Goes West* to various leaders of the Sagebrush Rebellion and other known overgrazers at the height of their predations. *Tofu Goes West* is a book of tofu recipes. Its brilliantly illustrated cover shows a giant hand coming down from the clouds bearing an enormous carton of tofu, scattering amazed cowboys and their mounts. The message is clear. Also, this particular guerilla mailing was timed to coincide with relatively low beef prices. . .the literary equivalent of Chinese water torture. Very nasty and effective!

21 Chainsaw Salute Greets Watt in Alaska

During a mid-August swing through Alaska, Interior Secretary Watt was wined and dined by the Chamber of Comerce and other developers in Anchorage and Fairbanks. However "NO OIL WELLS" was the message Watt received from native villagers. Eskimos in the Bristol Bay region presented the Secretary with smoked salmon as they voiced opposition to the policies which would destroy their livelihood. Elsewhere, anti-Watt protesters gathered in the streets at Watt's public appearances, but the crowning moment came in Juneau. There, a 21-chainsaw salute reverberated at a "Dump Watt" rally outside the Secretary's final appearance in the state. Watt reportedly admired the originality of this protest. One wonders how he will feel if he faces "revving" chainsaws at every stop throughout the nation. With a little dedication on our part, Watt may soon be cringing at the sight of an uncased McCulloch.

A timely epitaph: "What event likely to occur in the 1980's will our descendents most regret, even those living a thousand years from now? My opinion is not conventional. . . the worst thing that can happen. . . is not energy depletion, economic collapse, limited nuclear war, or conquest by a totalitarian goverment. As terrible as these catastrophies would be for us, they can be repaired within a few generations. The one process ongoing in the 1980's that will take millions of years to correct is the loss of genetic and species diversity by the destruction of natural habitats. This is the folly (for which) our descendents are least likely to forgive us."

—(E.O. Wilson, 1980)

"Why is it that destroying man's greatest creations, such as works of art, is considered criminal, while destroying nature's greatest creations is considered ob-jective, or balanced or practical?"

—Elizabeth Smith, spokeswoman
Bob Marshall Alliance

Regional Contacts, *Continued from Page 1*

If you find no regional contact for your area in the list below, you might consider becoming a contact yourself. If so, write us a letter and we'll list you in the next issue of this newsletter.

Current local groups and/or contacts for Earth First!:

MAINE: Gary Lawless, POB 186, Brunswick, ME 04011 (207) 729-5083

VIRGINIA: Paul Bratton, Judy Price, POB 111A, Deerfield, VA 24432

NEW JERSEY: Bob Ludd, 246 Fawn Ridge, Mountainside, NJ 07092 (201) 233-7656 (N), 624-7446 (D)

Missoula: Tony Moore, 316 East Spruce #2, Missoula MT 59801 (406) 728-5493

Durango: Steve Rauworth, 8593 Hwy 172, Ignacio, CO 81137 (303) 884-9864

Jackson, WY: Howie Wolke, POB 2348, Jackson, WY 83001

KANSAS: Neil Schanker, 1221 Thurston, Manhattan, KS 66502 (913) 532-5866

Fairfax, CA: Tim Jeffries, 22 Claus Circle, Fairfax, CA (415) 456-7433

Sante Fe, NM: Tom Callahan, 815 Dunlap St, Sante Fe, NM 87501 (505) 988-1382

Portland, OR: Eileen Key, 4815 N.E. Flanders, Portland, OR 97213 (503) 236-7308

Provo, UT: Ken Wintch, 1101 Elm Ave, Provo, UT 84601 (801) 377-2367

Salt Lake City, UT: Pete Dustrud, POB 26221, SLC, UT 84126 (801) 359-5250 (Day or night)

Yellow Springs and Cleveland, OH: Rik Thuesen, Antioch, Yellow Springs, OH 45387, or: 8483 Whitewood, Brecksville, OH 44141

Rochester, NY: Joe Union, 189 Union St, Rochester, NY 14605 (716) 325-6161

Albuquerque, NM: Neil Cobb, 314 Wellesley, SE, Albuquerque, NM (505) 266-1821

Telluride, CO: Art Goodtimes, POB 1008, Telluride, CO 84435

Troy, NY: Ralph Meima, 251 Liberty St, Troy, NY 12180 (518) 272-2496

OTHER WORDS. . .

Starting next issue, Art Goodtimes will be editing one page of this newsletter which shall be devoted to poems, songs, limericks, and whatever else he can squeeze in. Submissions to Art's page should be mailed to him: Artful Goodtimes, Box 1008, Telluride, CO 81435.

O sister
O grand Mother
O moon
Drawn the seed from me
That I may bleed
Bring me again into the circle
Return me to your rhythms
And enclose me in your arms

O grandmother moon
Your turnings are the circle of life
Are my turnings
The way of all creation
Bring me again into the circle

£ Ellen Gellert

LITTLE MISS MUFFET
by Paul Dehn

Little Miss Muffet
Crouched on a tuffet
Collecting her shell-shocked wits.
There dropped (from a glider)
An H-bomb beside her—
Which frightened Miss Muffet to bits

Song of the Sky Loom

O our Mother the Earth,
O our Father the Sky,
Your children are we, and with tired backs
We bring you gifts you Love.
Then weave for us a garment of brightness.
May the warp be the white light of morning,
May the weft be the red light of evening,
May the fringes be the falling rain,
May the border be the standing rainbow.
This weave for us a garment of brightness,
That we may walk fittingly where birds sing,
That we may walk fittingly where grass is green.
O our Mother the Earth
O our Father the Sky.

£ Unknown

An environmentalist lady from Utah
Passed a strip mine on her motor scootah
She said with a grin
As she tossed the bomb in
"Take that you dirty pollutah--

£ Unknown

O Columbia!

Fouled by wastes from towns, factories and reactors,
silted by erosion from farms and ravaged forests,
barred by dams, spanned by bridges,
No more a shining stream rushing through gorges,
filling canyons, flooding low plains;
now, like a bloated, fettered python, lying sick beneath the sun."

O ancient river, mighty pulsing life blood of the land!
Starting from the heartland, sweeping through the bodyland,
building and reshaping bone and muscle,
keeping banks fresh and clean;
may you someday burst your fetters, purge pollution and regain your freedom.
Let water from ten thousand springs and streams
winding down from mountain heights
welling up from prairie flatlands,
run free and clear its natural course again.

£ by E.W., Washington

The smell of the full moon
swelling the waters of your body
This moment of fullness
The dance between sun and moon
And the sense of tides under the skin

£ Ellen Gellert

RE-CREATING. . .

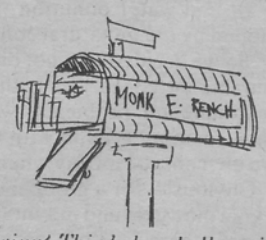
The heart and soul of EARTH FIRST! philosophy is that the human race resembles a cancer, which is rapidly devastating the Earth and Her community of life, and leading toward a massive ecological breakdown. The only hope for Earth, Her myriad life forms, and humankind, for that matter, is to declare vast areas of the Earth's surface off-limits to human technology and habitation. Towards that end, EF! had developed a draft list of Wilderness Preserves in the United States (see the Yule Newsletter for details). We also plan to propose international Wilderness Preserves (Baja, California; Australian Outback; Sahara Desert; Canadian Arctic; Amazon Basin, etc.). But we want to do more than merely draw up a list for our own amusement. We want to seriously advocate this expanded idea of natural area preservation. And we need your help in the following ways:

- A coordinator for our Preserve project (preferably a biologist).
- Additional suggestions and refinements for Preserves in the United States.
- Suggestions for Preserves worldwide.
- Individuals or groups to adopt particular Preserves and develop maps showing boundaries, and written reports.
- In addition to the Preserves, EF!ers should become involved in state RARE II bills and the BLM WSA process and propose larger Wilderness Areas than those supported by the Sierra Club and other moderate groups (for example, if there is a cluster of BLM WSAs in an area, recommend that the "roads" dividing the units be closed and one large Wilderness be designated. We will have more details on the BLM WSA program and RARE II bills in the next newsletter.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

If you find "Forwarding or Return Postage Guaranteed" stamped on your EF! Newsletter, it means we have listed you as a paid EF! member, in which case we roundly welcome you to EARTH FIRST!

If you have received this newsletter and you have yet to pay the $10, please do so soon. Starting next issue, only paid-up EF!ers will receive this publication.



Moving? Third class bulk mail is about half as expensive for us to mail as first class, but very expensive with paid members' Newsletters on which we mark "Forwarding or return postage guaranteed." So to eliminate what could be a disasterous expense, please send us your change of address ASAP.

EF!

Fundraiser Hike

This Spring, from May 1-May 8, Earth First! will be conducting a fundraising gonzo hike into the Maze district of Canyonlands National Park of Monkey Wrench fame. It's the most spectacular and isolated area of all of Southern Utah's fabled slickrock canyon country. The Maze is accessible by eighty miles of four-wheel drive road down the switchbacks of the Flint Trail to the end of the road in The Doll House, above Spanish Bottom. From here we could split the trip into two segments; first, hike throught Ernie's Country towards The Fins section. The Fins is a marvelously little-used section of the Maze that abounds in a narrow meandering canyons, arches, rock art and boasts a permanent source of water. From here, side trips could be taken over to the Colorado River above the Cataract Canyon and all through the numerous fins and fissures and narrow grottoes.

After three or four days we'll hike back out to the Doll House to BEER stashed in the vehicles and prepare for a descent into the *MAZE*. The Maze is a marvelously convoluted landscape of twisting canyons draining down to the Green River above the Confluence.

While we'll certainly want to visit the main north and south canyons of the Maze, the Big Springs and The Harvest scene, there's another section of the Maze,—between Pete's Mesa and the Doll House—that I call the "Unmaze." It's comprised of three major canyons, Jasper, Shot and Water.

Jasper Canyon has a three tiered "moki" Indian stairway that leads up to the ridge between Jasper and Shot. There's also a way down into Shot Canyon, but GONZO hikers only! From the bottom of Shot, it's an easy hike over and into Water Canyon, and while there's water in all three canyons of the Unmaze, Water Canyon has free-flowing streams and waterfalls. ,s and

From Water, a long hike will take us back to the Doll House and a short side hike will take us to the Confluence of the Grand and the Green (we used to call the Grand the Colorado River).

Tentative price is $300 per person, up to eight people. Write c/o EF! Newsletter, Attn: Spurs.

* * * *

Environmentalists are often called Luddites. (Ned Ludd was an English weaver around 1800 who organized other weavers to trash out incoming power looms with axes. Luddite is a negative term by techno-worshippers to put down those who question the God of Progress.)

Unfortunately Ned Ludd is a rather foggy historical character. Dave Foreman would like to write a magazine article on the first EARTH FIRST!er. If you have any (and we mean *any*) references to Ned or know how to track some down, please send them to Foreman.

exploiters don't wreck what's left of our wilderness. Don't get your head based in needlessly, but remember that the destroyers are very intent on squeezing the last drop of life from this planet. Nothing short of an all-out effort will be required of grassroots eco-radicals everywhere. The Spring Equinox issue of the EF! Newsletter will carry a full-length story on the status of our wilderness and what we intend to do about defending it. Watch for it.

Pete Dustrud

EF! Books

Ned Ludd Books

After the beer ran out on the fourth (or was it the fifth?) day of the EF! New Year's river trip through the lower canyons of the Rio Grande below Big Bend National Park, several EF!ers discussed our proposed line of environmental books, the Ned Ludd series. Digger and I will be working on getting Digger's novel *Green Fire*, out by the end of the year or perhaps early spring. Johnny Sagebrush and I will be polishing up all the new, improved edition of the *Li'l Green Songbook* for publication this spring. We're also anxious to get started on EF! first four official Ned Ludd books. They are:

Earth First! A Statement of the Human Cancer
Editor: Dave Foreman

A collection of writings including Foreman's *Progressive* article, members' articles and solicitations from noted environmental authors defining eco-problems from different perspectives; a collective statement on what the problem is, where it came from, and our basic stands.

Essays Towards a Deep Ecology
Editors: ?

A follow-up companion to the *Human Cancer* book, this volume will deal with environmental problem-solving.

More detailed outlines of these two books will follow in the next newsletter. Digger and I consider these to be our most important publishing projects and are committed to getting them right.

Eco Tricks/Ecotage Book
Editors: ?

The ultimate Monkey Wrencher's guide, *Poor Man's James Bond, Anarchist Cookbook, How to Get Even, New Paper Trip*, etc. all rolled into one! A practical and informative guide.

Don't Fence Me In
Editors: ?

This book is another idea from the Big Bend River trip. After listening to Digger and me trying to sing for seven days, (we not only can't sing, we can't remember the words either) folks on the trip perceived a need for an anthology of songs. Tales and verse for around the campfire and floating down the river. We see this being a diverse collection of songs, verses and tales (tall and otherwise) from the likes of the Fugs, Sons of the Pioneers, Everett Reuss, Robert Service, dangerous Dan McGrew, etc.

We will include a few good recipes and a dirty limerick or two, making for a real potpourri, or as they say in Texas, "pot porry."

Series editor for the Ned Ludd books will be Digger Forearm; I will be publishing the series. We need editors for all but the *Human Cancer* title. If you feel qualified, and are interested in a long-term commitment, please contact Digger or me. We will discuss the details. We are also looking for writers, artists, designers, etc. for these books.

Spurs
c/o EF! Newsletter

EARTH FIRST! MUDMEN, SPURS AND DIGGER.

The Earth First! Calendar

Tired of calendars starting with January and ending with December? Year after monotonous year? Then rise up and throw off those shackles of bound conformity with the First Earth First! Earth Calendar, which begins this autumn with All Hallow's Eve. From there we follow the grand old cycles of the Earth's rhythm, as folks did in the days of yore. (Before all this insanity got going.)

Help make this a truly seasoned effort. Send in your favorite dates, quotes, eco-catastrophes, Earth info, and any other terribly important data which you have been saving up for a time like this.

We also want to adorn this treasure with art and photos (B&W), so get hustling on that, too. Send forth your bizarre, your disgusting, your tedious masterpieces yearning to be seen. This is your best chance at true Infamy. Send your worst (and your best) to EF! Now! We can't wait! Don't be the last on your block, canyon or inlet to finally lose all respectability.

Mail should be addressed to the: First Earth First! Earth Calendar, POB 26221, SLC, UT 84126. (Please package all radioactive garbage in lead-lined containers.)

* * * *

PBS stations aired an excellent documentary on Watt December 9 entitled, "James Watt's Environment: The Promised Land." The program also covered John "Cut 'em Down" Crowell's rapacious plans for the National Forests (Crowell, a former high muckymuck for Louisiana-Pacific, is the Asst. Sec. of Agriculture). The show focused extensively on oil and gas leasing in Wilderness Areas and specifically considered the Gros Ventre, Washakie, and Bob Marshall. And while the opening credits rolled, the background was the EF! anti-Watt demonstration in Jackson last September, with Johnny Sagebrush, Howie Wolke, and Dave Foreman fuming up on Spur's truck.

Watt's This?

Did you ever wonder why Jim Watt is the first Secretary of the Interior to have Secret Service protection? Well, a friend of Watt's who is also an executive with AMOCO (natch) wondered the same thing. When she asked Jimboy, he replied that it was because of EARTH FIRST!!

Well, we know that Howie Wolke has a hell of a grip (Howie shook hands with Jimboy in Jackson this September) and we really appreciate the fact that we're making an impression on Watt, but come on. Secret Service protection because of EARTH FIRST!? Of course, if Ronnie Rayguns can make up the story about the Libyan hit squad, and Watt can call the Sierra Club extremists. . .

Next thing you know, they'll be claiming that Col. Quadaffi is on the Circle.

Jimmy "Rape-the-Wilderness" Watt was interviewed by "60-Minutes" during the Western Governor's Convention in September. The interview aired January 10th.

Not only did Jimmy "Gee" Watt fail to mention his distinguished position in Earth First!, he didn't even acknowledge that Earth First!ers set up the jovial celebration in his honor in the parking lot in Jackson that day. We find this disturbing. Perhaps we should review his appointment to EF! as Honorary Membership Chairman.

The "60-Minutes" article threw in a few clips of energetic Earth First!ers at the rally in their blazing EF! t-shirts, but again, no mention was made of who we were. Maybe EF!ers should invite the secretary on a hike with us one of these days, soon.

8 Times A Year

Many of you are no doubt curious about the rather strange schedule this newsletter holds. The EARTH FIRST! Newsletter is issued eight times a year—on the Sabbats. The Sabbats are the holidays of the seasons, the spokes on the wheel of the year. These celebrations come to us from the old Earth Goddess—Sun God religion which existed before patriarchal Christianity conquered Europe. So you will know when the Newsletter is published and what these dates mean, we offer this brief calendar:

Yule (Winter Solstice, Dec. 21) This is the longest night of the year and when the Earth Goddess gives birth again to the Sun God.

Brigid (Candlemas, Feb. 2) This celebrates the waxing light of the Sun.

Eostar Ritual (Spring Equinox, March 21) The return of Spring.

Beltane (May Eve, April 30) The courtship of the Goddess and Sun God.

Litha (Summer Solstice, June 21) The longest day of the year and the beginning of the death of the Sun God.

Lughnasad (Aug. 1) Wake of the Sun God.

Mabon (Fall Equinox, Sept. 21) Harvest celebration.

Samhain (Halloween, Oct. 31) End of the year and the beginning of the new. The Sun God has died.

CLASSIFIEDS

Earth First!ers! Do you have something to sell, trade or simply get rid of? The inside back page of this newsletter is the place to do it. All ads will be charged on a sliding scale: if you are a struggling artisan living in the wild, we will charge you next to nothing, but if you are a big time outfit be prepared to pay more.

All advertising in the EF! Newsletter shall remain here on this page.

We reserve the right to refuse any ad that's obscene or in bad taste, such as a notice of employment in the nuke biz.

We wish we could send free newsletters to every Earth-lover the world over, but our present finances prohibit it. Therefore we are asking for support from our members. Ten dollars per member per year should do it.

The EF! Newsletter is our means of communication, but to avoid complications, it does not bear our name or insignia on the outside when mailed.

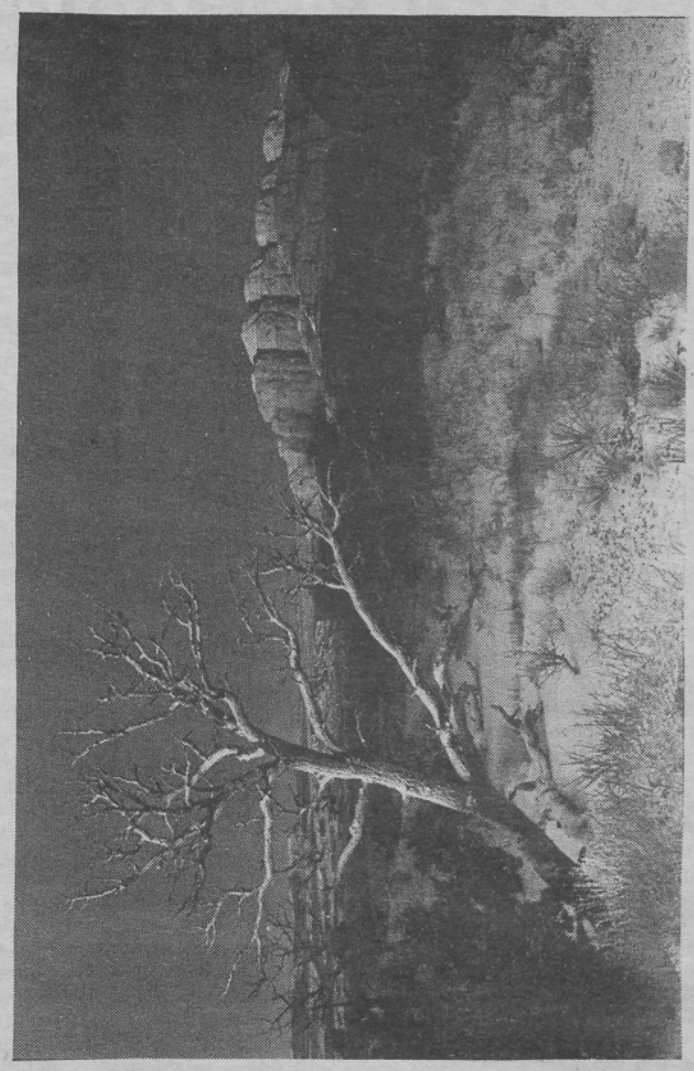
This issue of the EF! Newsletter was put together with the assistance of B.A. Badger, Silven, Diane, Liz and Pennin Pensel.

ARTISTS! Send us your best drawing of the EF! logo (fist inside a circle) and maybe your work will become the official emblem of Earth First!

Larry Fox
Box M
Valley Stream, NY 11582
(516) 791-7929

Write for complete catalog of stickers, buttons, shirts, etc.

Buck The System



Devil's Garden, Arches National Park, Utah

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Salt Lake City, UT
84126

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The Earth First! Newsletter is looking for submissions of all kinds. Eventually we should be getting regular reports, updates and wild stories from all of our grassroots groups around the country and around the world.

Still, there's no reason why we should have to wait for material. Our readers—especially our members—are highly encouraged to submit whatever might be of interest to the rest of the membership. Examples of such would be reports of eco-catastrophes in your area, actions—if any—taken to stop the damage, letters to the editor, responses to the letters printed, photos, cartoons and drawings, news of EF! grassroots organizing, ideas for new and creative eco-tactics, as well as short stories and poems which relate somehow to our struggle.

The deadline for each issue is three weeks before publication date (the next deadline is February 28) so get things in early if at all possible.

It is our hope that this newsletter will turn into an effective tool to help enable us to better fight the horrendous onslaught of the corporate megatechnic maniacs. This is your newsletter; contribute to it and use it. Otherwise it is nothing more than another cute publication.

Those of you living in the Salt Lake area are also encouraged to drop by here and lend a hand to this effort. (Contact Pete at 359-5250.)

Membership Appeal

Fed up with playing footsie with the issues concerning the safety of this planet? Want to join a hard line, no-compromise movement of Earthlings who will no longer tolerate the wholesale destruction of our Mother Earth? Have you been wondering where in the world everyone else who shares your concerns have been? Do you like the idea of building an effective coalition of grassroots support in defense of the Earth? Where actions speak louder than words or money? Where dogma is on a leash? Where you can creatively contribute to the group energy?

Are you sick of contributing time and money to wishy-washy eco-groups whose members can't even muster a sense of humor? Are you ready for a bolder approach to conservation than the other groups take?

If you answered in the affirmative, then we're with you. Together we will gather strength and resist the tyrants and destroyers.

Name _____

Address _____

City ..... Zip _____

☐ Here's $10 or more to sign me up for EARTH FIRST! membership dues and to get the *EF! Newsletter* postage paid, no matter what!

☐ I wish to volunteer in other ways

☐ Send a Guest Membership to:

☐ In addition to the above, list me in the *Newsletter* as a regional contact so to enable the Grassroots Organization of EARTH FIRST! (others in your area will contact you).

Earth First! needs some Earth-minded lawyers to devote some time to organizing a legal defense pool. There is little doubt that our actions will sooner or later provoke the wrath of the exploiters and destroyers of Earth. A national network of Earth First! lawyers will surely be of much value. Write to the EF! Newsletter if interested.

"They who give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

—Benjamin Franklin

A state-by-state list of threatened areas, prepared by Peter Kirby of The Wilderness Society, is reproduced here.

Designated Wilderness (W); Recommended for wilderness by the Carter Administration (R); and Wilderness Study Areas (S). Where available, the name of the National Forest in which the area lies has been given in parentheses.

ALABAMA
W Sipsey
R Sipsey additions
Border Creek
ALASKA
No oil & gas lease applications in W, R, or S areas for either the Cugach of Tongass National Forests.
ARIZONA
W Galiuro (Coronado)
Pusch Ridge (Coro.)
Chiricahua (Coro.)
R Rincon
Chiricahua additions
Mt. Wrightson
Miller Peak
(all in Coronado)
ARKANSAS
W Caney Creek (Ouachita)
Upper Buffalo (Ozark)
R Upper Kiamichi River
Black Fork Mtn.
(both Ouachita)
S Belle Starr (Ouachita)
Dry Creek
CALIFORNIA
W Ventana
Santa Lucia
San Rafael
R Madulce-Buckhorn
(all in Los Padres)
COLORADO
W Flattops
Mt. Zirkel
Raggeds
West Elk
Mt. Sneffels
Lizard Head
Maroon Bells/Snowmass
Eagles Nest
South San Juan
S Piedra
South San Juan
Spanish Peaks
Sangre de Cristo
FLORIDA
W Bradwell Bay
(Apalachicola)
GEORGIA
R Southern Nantahala
Raven Cliff
Brasstown-Wolf Pen
(all Chattahoochee)
IDAHO
W Selway-Bitterroot
Lemhi (Challis)
R Selway-Bitterroot Cnyn.
S West Pioneers
Elkhorns
MICHIGAN
R Nordhouse Dunes
(Huron-Manistee)
MISSISSIPPI
R Black Creek
(Mississippi)
MONTANA
W Great Bear
Bob Marshall
Scapegoat
Mission Mtns.
Gates of the Mtns.
Rattlesnake
Welcome Creek
Anaconda-Pintlar
Absaroka-Beartooth
R Tongue River Breaks
(Custer)
Big Log (Helena)
East Pioneers
(Beaverhead)
Renshaw
Silver King-Falls Creek
(Lewis and Clark)
West Big Hole
Clearwater-Monture
Sliderock
Spanish Peaks Primitive
Area
Storm Lake
S Big Snowies (Lewis/Clark)
Ten Lakes (Kootenai)
Sapphires (Deerlodge)
Hyalite-Porcupine-Buffalo Horn
(Gallatin)
Madison
Taylor-Hilgard
NEVADA
R Arc Dome (Toyabie)
NEW MEXICO
W Capitan Mtn. (Lincoln)
S Guadalupe Escarpment
(Licoln)
W Gila and Aldo Leopold
NORTH DAKOTA
R Twin Buttes
OREGON
R Strawberry Mtn. addition
Bull of the Woods
(Mt. Hood)
Canyons (Ochoco)
Rock Creek (Siuslaw)
SOUTH CAROLINA
W Wambaw Creek
(Francis Marion)
TENNESSEE
R Bald River Gorge
(Cherokee)
S Citico Ck. (Cherokee)
Big Frog (Cherokee)
UTAH
W Lone Peak
R High Uinta
Leidy
Pine Valley Mtn.
Ashdown Gorge
Fishlake Mtn.
Wellsville Mtn.
Stansbury
Olympus
Dark-Woodenshoe Canyon
Red Canyon South
VERMONT
W Bristol Cliffs
Lye Brook
(both Green Mtns.)
VIRGINIA
W James River Face
(Jefferson)
R Beartown
Peter's Mtn.
Little Dry Run
Lewis Fork
Little Wilson Creek
Thunder Ridge
(all Jefferson)
Skidmore
St. Mary's
Rich Hole
Rough Mtn.
Ramsey Draft
(all George Washington)
S Mill Creek
Mountain Lake
(both Jefferson)
WASHINGTON
W Wenaha-Tucannon
Alpine Lakes
WEST VIRGINIA
R Cranbury
Seneca Creek
Laurel Fork No. & So.
WYOMING
W Washakie
North Absaroka
Fitzpatrick
Teton
Bridger
R Platte River
(Medicine Bow)
Whiskey Mtn. Primitive
Area (Shoshone)
DuNoir
Washakie additions
Gros Ventre